644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
565 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent.
[162] Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its
[622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chief-
[173] tainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
● 591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to
[611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

who has reared him and there his descendants live. 644
Some lineages of the royal clan, the *ororo*, have 591
been formally deprived of their noble status and 565
can now intermarry with their parent clan. They 614
are said to be descendants of Ocolo, the fifth king, who were degraded by his successor, but Father Hofmayr's and Father Crazzolara's accounts[1] would suggest that some of them may be descended from nobles degraded by other kings, and further research will probably confirm this. They are few in number but they hold the important chieftainship of Tonga settlement and they play a leading part in the royal funerary and investiture rites. A king always has some of their daughters among his wives and it is said to be their duty to smother him in certain circumstances.

The emergence of what may be called aristo- 565
cratic status has been accompanied by the forma- 644
tion of numerous groups of persons of the category 613
of *bang reth*, royal clients. They are descendants of retainers of past kings—captured enemies, certain homicides, persons who have become possessed by the spirit of Nyikang, and poor men who have

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk* (1925), pp. 66, 83, and 261–2; P. J. P. Crazzolara, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Religion und Zauberei bei den Schilluk', *Anthropos* (1932), p. 185.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish her. Mr. Heasty informs us that one wife is always appointed head wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyiwak*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous. Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children. Mr. Heasty informs us that they may select whom they will, *howeve*

[1] Mr. Heasty considers that the reasons for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will unite villagers for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villagers of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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581 The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and her relatives—father, brothers, and the *na*—will try to dissuade her from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle. [582] The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage, and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

584 After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

585 The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father, after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the [591] husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of [476] his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was cel[illegible]ed [541] during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our inform[illegible]g gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was 584 not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place 136 before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual practice was for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house, when they would spend the night in some other house in the village. The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more, the first instalment consisting of two cows.

585 Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

finished this, they go into the hut to eat. But the girl again refuses to eat. And metal ornaments are brought, and then she eats. The next day the women go out to bring fire-wood. When they come back, they put food on the fire, and spend the night in cooking. When they have finished cooking, they strain beer, and once more they besmear the enclosure with mud, and the hut also. The next day all the people come to drink beer. The drum is beaten, and the people dance. 539* 585

That is all; and a ram is brought, the ram is killed and eaten by the women. Now they (the female relatives of the bride) go home, and the bride remains (in the house of her husband) together with her aunt. She is given to her husband, and they live together. The aunt too goes home. 539* 591●

When the wife is with child, a cow is sent to her relatives by the husband. Before this is done, her relatives (parents) say: "He (our son-in-law) is a bad man," and her father and mother are angry. But when the cow is brought, they are happy. And they say to the people who bring the cow: "Return to your family!" And they return. And they are sprinkled with water. And when the time comes that she is to be confined, she is brought to her family (to her parents; the child should be born in the home of the mother's parents). 539* 843 [844]

16. Burial.

Ŋ̀ɪ̀ŋ kɲá a ɟɲwɛ́, ka ɠɾʊ dwaí, ka gyɟ̀ŋɡ kwaá, ka gɟ̀ɛ̀h fɛ́á, ka gyɟ̀ŋɡ ɟ̀ɪ̀, ka lɟ̀ɛ́ tátɟɲɟ́ɪ̀, ka gyɟ̀ŋɡ mɟ̀ɲ̀ɡ mátɪ̀, ka gɟ̀ɛ̀h fɛ́á, ká ɟ̀ɪ̀ŋ wéy ɠɪ̀ŋ; ka dyɟɪ̀ kɲ̀ɪ́, ka ggɛ̀hí[1] lɛ́ŋ, ka wɛ́ɪ bwáŋ kɲ́ kal. Ká wɪ̀ɲ́ kɲ̀ɪ́, ka chwɛ́ɲ, ká jɪ́ chɲ̀kɲ̀, ka jam kwɲ̀r gwɛ́ɛh. Ka dɲ̀ɾɲ́ kɲ̀ɪ́, ka tɲɛ́ kɲɪ́, ka kwɲ̀r kɲɪ́, ka atɪ̀ŋɡ kɲɪ́, ka lɪ̀ɲ kɲɪ́; ka tyɛ́ɪ kɲɟ̀ɲ bɛ́ ágɛ́ɛ kwɛ́ɲɟ̀ɲ, mɲɛ́ tɪ̀ɪ́ ɟɛ́ɲɛ; ka ɪ̀ɲɡ twɛ́ɛh tyɟɪ́ɛ gɟɛ́ɲ. Ká gɟ́ kɟ́ɟ̀ɲ, ka gɛ́ ɛ́ɛdɲ̀ kwɛ́ɛɟ̀ɲ̀, ka kwɛ́ɲɟ̀ɲ kɲɪ́ gɛ́ gwɛ́ɛh, ka wɛ́ɛ̀ɪ̀ tyɛ́ɪ kwɛ́ɛá, ka tyɛ́ɪ kwɛ́ɛá ko: kɲɪ́ kɟ́ɛ́h! Ka kɟ́ɛ́h kɲ̀ɪ́, ka gɛ́ ko: rɲɛ́ɛ́ ɠɪ̀ŋ! Ka rɟɪ́ kɟ́ɟ̀, ka ɠɪ̀ŋ rɟɲɛ́, ka rɟɟɛ́ kɲɪ́, rɲɛ́ɛ kɟ́ɟ̀ bɪ̀ɾ ɠɪ̀ŋ. Ka ɠɪ̀ŋ a kwɛ́ɛá, ka jɪ́ mɲ̀ɪ̀ŋ́ gɛ́ kwɛ́ɛɟ́ ɠɪ̀ŋ, ka jɪ́ mɲ̀ɪ̀ŋ́ yɟɛ́ɪ́ɟ́ ɠɛ́ɪ́ɛ́. Ká gyɟ̀ɲ kɲɪ́, ka ɣɓɾ (rɓɾ), ká tɛ́ɛ́ ɟɛ́ɲɛ, ká kɪ́ɟɛ́ fɛ́á (tabete). Ka ɠɪ̀ŋ dwaí kɪ̀ɪ́, ka ɛ́hɟɟɛ́ chwɛ́ɲ, ɜ mɲ̀ɪ̀ŋ́ tyɟɪ́ ɠɪ̀ŋ, ka ɠɪ̀ŋ kɪ̀ɪ́ɛ wéy tabete. Ka ɛ́ɛ́ ɟɛ́ɪ́ ɟɛ́ɲ yɟɛ́ɪ́ɟ́ tyɟɪ́ɪ́ ɠɪ̀ŋ, ka ɛ́wɛ́ɲɛ chwɛ́ɲ, ɜ ŋɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɪ́. Ká bɛ́ɪ́ kɲ̀ɪ́, ka dɟɟɪ́ kɲɪ́, ka dɟɟɪ́ ɟɟɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ lɛ́ŋ; ka bɛ́ɪ́ ɟɟɛ́ɛ́. Ka jɪ́ ɟɲɟɲɛ́ɛ́; a tɪ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɠɾʊ fɛ́ ɟɲɟɲɛ́, ka jɪ́ wɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɪ́. Ka ɣɓɪ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɓɛ́, ka ɠɪ̀ŋ á rɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɟ́ ɪ́ɟ́ kwɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɟ́. Ka ɓɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ ɓɛ́ɟ́, ka ɠɾʊ lwɛ́ɛ́ɪ́ ɟɟɛ́ɪ́, ka ɠɾʊ dwɟɟɛ́ fɛ́ɛ́ɛ́. Ɔ́bwɛ́ɲɟ́ kɲɪ́ ɪ́ɟ́ ɟɟɛ́ɛ́ɲɟ́, ka jɪ́ fɛ́ɛ́ɪ́ ɪ́ɟ́ ɛ́ɓwɛ́ɲɟɟ. Ka jɪ́ kɟɟɪ́ fɛ́ɛ́ɛ́. Ka fɛ́ɪ́ ɾɟ́ɟ́ mɛ́ɛ́ɛ́, ka ɪ̀ɲɪ́, ɛ́ɪ́ ɟɟɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɪ̀ɲɪ́ɪ́ jɛ́ɪ́; jɪ́ ɛ́ ɛ́ɲɟ́, ka jɪ́ ɾɲɟ́ɟ́ chɛ́á ɟɟɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́. Ka mɟɟɟɟ́ dwɟɟɪ́, mɲɛ́ ɪ́ɟ́ɛ́ kwɲ̀ɲɛ́ ɠɪ̀ŋ ɪ́ɟ́ ɪ́ɛ́ɛ́ɲɟ́. Ká ɠɪ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɪ̀ɲɪ́, ɪ́ɛ́ mɟɲɟɲɟ́ tyɟɪ́, ka mɟɟɟɟ́ ɪ̀ɲɪ́, ɪ́ɟ́ɛ́ kwɲ̀ɲɛ́ ɠɪ̀ŋ. Ka ɪ́ɛ́ɛ́ɲɟ́ dwaí, ka ɪ́ɟ́ɛ́ kwɲ̀ɲɛ́ ɠɪ̀ŋ, ɪ́ɛ́ mɛ́ɛ́ɲɛ ɪ́ɟ́ ɟɪ́, ka mɟɟɟɟ́ chɲ̀ɪ́ɟ́ ɪ̀ɲɪ́, ka chɲ̀ɪ́ɟ́ ɪ́ɟ́ɛ́, ka wɟɟ́ chwɛ́ɲɟ, ɪ́ɛ́ ɓɛ́ɪ́ ɟɛ́ɛ́ɪ́, ka ɾɟ́ɟ́ ɛ́ wɛ́ɛ́ɪ́ɟ́, ɪ́ɛ́ ɣɓɪ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɓɛ́, ka ɾɟ́ɟ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɣɟ́. Ka dwɛ́ɛ́ɲ fɛ́ɛ́ɾ, ka ɾɟ́ɟ́ ɪ́ɛ́ɛ́ɲ ɪ́ɟ́

[1] ggɛ́ɛh yɪ́ lɛ́ŋ.

(c) *Nyareth* - The son of a *Nyireth*. 565
(d) *Kwanyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*. 614

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyireth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyireth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement. 644 644 614 591 565

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house. 644 582

The Ororo

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The *ororo* are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the *ororo* always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the *ororo*. 565 614 643

The Bang Reth

The *bang reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shillukland, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the *bang reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. 565 644 727 735 567 672

The *bang reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the *bang reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer *kwaro*, 'my grand-daughter'. 565 614 608 644

The *bang reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become *bang* 565 644 614

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

even at this stage, complete. The husband has not yet acquired full rights in his wife and does not do so until the cattle payments (*kany*) are at least substantially complete. It is, however, unlikely that the bride's kinsmen will consent to the *mogho thiek* unless they are satisfied with the payments.

Theoretically, the wife will not take up residence with her husband until these payments have been made in full and in any case not permanently until her first child has been born.[1] The fact that during this transitional stage, when the wife is still living with her family, adultery is regarded as a less serious offence (*kwor kwobo nian ajur*) than later when she is living with her husband (*kwor kwob cie dhano*), indicates that full legal rights in her have not yet passed to her husband. The girl is in fact only betrothed, though, as among the Nuer and Dinka, bethrothal carries with it a degree of legal union and certain rights. Though completion of cattle payments should coincide with change of residence, this is not often the case and frequently a man, tired of waiting and unable to find the final two or three head of cattle, elopes with his betrothed.[2]

Pumphrey also states:

> Thus the marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of cattle payments, but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep.

Ultimately, however, a man's rights in his wife and his children must depend on the payment of cattle. Analysis of disputes over marriage payments show that unless these are sufficient to satisfy permanently the demands of the wife's kinsmen, the union is unlikely to last. This does not mean that the ten head of cattle required are always paid in full, but those owing remain as a debt in the second generation.

Thus it seems safe to assume that the *mogho thiek* should be regarded as the ultimate ceremony which marks not only the change of residence of the bride, but also the final transference of legal rights in her to her husband. In fact this will usually coincide with the payment of at least an acceptable proportion of the bridewealth cattle.

The Distribution of Bridewealth

Pumphrey states that:

> Professor Seligman was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact, only in the case already described does he receive anything; i.e. when he claims from the bridewealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister.[3]

There is here, then, a very definite difference between the system of distribution of bridewealth among the Shilluk and that current among the Nuer and Dinka. Among the latter peoples, even in unions achieved by the transference of very small numbers of cattle, there must always be a definite portion set aside for the maternal kinsmen

[1] A further cow (over and above the ten head of cattle for bridewealth) is expected after the birth of the first child.

[2] This is not the same as the ceremonial and conventional abduction which forms part of the *mogho thiek* ceremonies. Pumphrey says: 'The *mogho thiek* . . . sometimes ends with the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom', op. cit., p. 28.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 28-29.

With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed 644 to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone 554 may be used.

The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons 565 for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great 614 wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the 644 cunning process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

The *Reth* has many wives,[13] most of whom live with him at 644 Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village 591 where the *Nyireth*[14] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[15] into the charge of some reputable *Collo* chief[16] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyireth* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age 565 of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known 591 as *Pa Nyireth* and will be the village of the *Nyireth's* descendants. 621 As the descendants of the *Nyireth* increase this original *Pa Nyireth* 644 will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and [361] thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

13. The wife of a *Reth* is known as *bareth*.

14. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyireth* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

15. *pidh* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

16. The chief entrusted will often be the *bareth's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyireth's* nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyireth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

428 592

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reth*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no place in society for batchelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Reth's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is reasonable and almost necessary.

581 [595] [589] [162]

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng mogho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually continues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit

585 [582] [583]

182 583 591

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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182 583 591 her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to get his wife home to do the cooking.

585 848 Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

585 [684] It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

586 [848] A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

Customs Surrounding Marriage.

586 [578] Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to cause family disruption.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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585 A poor quality animal will be rejected by the *jal tong* of the bride's family who will request the best man to bring a better. In a sense these intermediaries act as solicitors of the contracting parties, and [182] by their mediation reduce friction which might lead to a breach of the marriage.

The *mogho thiek* is the final ceremony marking the separation of the wife from her own clan, and sometimes ends with a mock battle resulting in the " violent " removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party throw spears into the village of the bride and her relations reply with an answering shower, each side keeping the other's spears. After this mock battle the bride goes to [591] the village of the bridegroom. The remaining two or three head of cattle will soon be brought and the transaction is then complete. The last bull is sometimes known as *wanh thiek*.

The above is a description of a marriage in which no hitch has occurred. Often the sequence of events is entirely different. For [836 684] example an original seduction often eventuates in a marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above) it. In such cases also the marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girls' family will accept it until the seduction payment is complete. Again some marriages drag on interminably because the bridegroom's *gol* does not produce cattle. In such cases the wife's *gol* sometimes tire [586] of waiting and end the marriage by marrying her to another, in which case the disappointed husband is entitled to recover any cattle he has paid. At other times, if the husband is acceptable to the woman's *gol* or if, as often happens, they know that the girl is so fond of her lover that all attempts to marry her elsewhere will fail they accept the marriage and content themselves by waiting until a daughter of the marriage is married, when they will claim from her bride wealth the number of cattle remaining in arrears from the bride wealth of her mother.

583 Generally the cattle payments go all to the *gol* leader of the woman, be he her father, brother, or uncle. Professor Seligmann was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterise the kinship group.

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members.

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl of Pac*,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Nyots Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place fo their founder.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Amaykn's nephews founded a hamlet across the water-course but is now dead and left no sons. In this example the offshoot has come to nothing. *Pa Ding* also, from which sprang *Pa Rem* and *Pa Both* and which is of long standing, is now disintegrating. Its occupants have not been prolific and there have been too many offshoots for it to remain undiminished. It is now occupied by one man only. *Ogwak* on the other hand is flourishing and has two well-established offshoots. Thus hamlets are founded and in some cases prosper and the inhabitants increase in number. The founder is often joined by a brother or colateral relative and later the occupants may not be the direct descendants of the founder[4]. In other instances those long-established disintegrate and are sometimes abandoned altogether. The settlement is never a static formation but a dynamic and changing association of lineages, who split up among themselves within the boundaries or send out offshoots to settle in other parts of the country. Latterly, however, there has been a tendency towards stabilization. In the past, the settlement was only a loose alliance of local branches of the clan, similar in construction and significance to the larger divisions of the tribe. However, the limited size of the area and constant contact have produced an integral unit of the social body bound by something more than a vague tradition of military co-operation. The inhabitants of a settlement live in close proximity, gave legal and economic interests in common and look to their chief to represent their collective grievances in the affairs of the tribe. A mutual protection pact is, however, the basis on which they are grouped together and in this connection it is necessary to give some account of the age-sets into which they are organized.

4. In *Dhok Alal* it is interesting to note that in at least three cases hamlets have been founded by the husbands of female members of the lineage. Thus *Pa Mas Collo* was started by the husband of the daughter of *Adulung*. The daughter of *Kukwai* married into some other clan and left the territory, but her son returned to found *Pa Lual*. The daughter of *Gither* married a man from *Ayigo* and together they settled in *Dhok Alal* and their hamlet is considered an extension of *Pa Gither*. In a few cases the Shilluk settle matrilocally as in the case of *Adulung's* grandson. Often the descendants of a man who has settled in his wife's home seem to trace descent matrilineally, and will often mention the name of their mother's father, if asked their lineage, rather than a forbear in the paternal line. This is a legal fiction of convenient usage and is not technically recognised. The test of exogamy does not apply for a man would not seek to marry into his mother's lineage, but it is a claim which provides protection and added prestige to the individual who lives in close proximity to his mother's kinsmen.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 which he said were for his personal use at night, since they would not glint and reveal his movements.

[644 391] 4. All sons of *reths* are brought up in a village away from Fashoda (either their mother's or that of some Shilluk chief who has agreed to adopt them), and there lead a somewhat secluded life.

The king or *reth* of the Shilluk is a classic example of Frazer's conception of a divine king. The argument resolves itself into the following essentials:-

1. The king has power over nature, which may be exerted voluntarily or involuntarily.
2. He is considered the dynamical centre of the universe.
3. Hence the well-being of the universe depends upon his actions and the course of his life; both must therefore be carefully regulated.

The fourth essential, which Frazer stresses later in the third edition of the *Golden Bough*, is that of 'king killing.' By this he means that the physical condition of the king reacts upon the fortunes of his people and must not be impaired. Therefore, if the king shows signs of senility or physical imperfection, he must be removed, and a successor substituted.[5] The only way to remove him is to kill him. Among the Shilluk there is abundant and current evidence of the first three essentials both in the regulations which control the *reth*'s life and the rites and ceremonies performed at his installation. There is evidence also of 'king killing.' There are in fact two forms of 'king killing' among the Shilluk:-

(i) According to tradition the *reth* may be strangled or suffocated by his wives if he fails to satisfy them, or shows signs of illness or senility, which may effect the welfare of the tribe. This is supported by tradition only.

5. See C. G. Seligman, *Egypt and Negro Africa*, p. 4.

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Preparations then began at the small village of Kujo in the settlement of Fanyidwai Pac in the southern Shilluk area. This village had been built by Dak Fadiet himself when he moved from his mother's home in Fathworo at the invitation of *kwanyireth* Gaw *wad* Ageng of Falo and was occupied by him from the age of about seventeen until his accession. The word *kujo* means literally, "I do not know" and apparently referred to his ignorance of the future and whether he would become *reth* or not, but expressed his pious hope.[1] Within this village two huts were built by him and known as his *gol dwong* (great house) and occupied by him when in residence. This is common practice with all Shilluk kings and the *gol dwong* eventually becomes the *kengo*, shrine or tomb, and is always sited in the village of their birth or adoption. These huts were fenced around in the manner of all royal shrines in preparation for the burial. These preparations were carried out by the kinsmen of *reth* Dak under the general supervision of the *ororo*. Yet despite his wishes, which were well known, his son Adieng caused further trouble by insisting that his father should be buried in the village of Pa Loc in Famadh with which he had had close associations. He went as far as to waylay the *ororo* when they were carrying the *jamkwer*, sacred objects, in particular the ambatch seat (*kwom*) used by the *reth* and in which his spirit was said to be, to Kujo, upon which Fanyidwai, the division in which Kujo is situated and where *reth* Dak was brought up, rose in arms and only the timely arrival of the chiefs of both areas prevented a clash. It was generally accepted that Adieng was quite wrong in assuming that his father wished to be buried at Pa Loc, which would have been untraditional, and his motives are obscure.[2]

1 I have heard since that Kujo, as a hamlet, was not built until after Dak had been elected. The name Kujo therefore expresses his feeling of uncertainty before his installation at Fashoda.

2 I am indebted to Father W. Hurst, of the Mill Hill Mission, for further information on this incident. Apparently it is customary for the late *reth's* ambatch seat (*kwom*, but to be distinguished from the sacred stool, also *kwom*, used at the installation ceremonies) to be carried to the place where his remains will finally rest almost immediately after his death. The *reth's* spirit is manifest in this seat and it is often spoken of as the *reth* on this occasion. In the case of Dak *wad* Fadiet, the seat was carried from Fashoda to Famadh where it was placed in a hut which (by the people of Famadh) was reckoned to be his future tomb. The procession was accompanied by villagers on its way, each settlement turning out to follow as far as their boundaries. During the next few days, people from all sides marched to Famadh, *be kemo reth*, "*to visit the reth.*" News soon reached the people of Fanyidwai, who descended on Famadh in force and carried off the seat and other sacred objects. In their haste, some of the sacred beads were upset on to the ground which was considered a misfortune, at any rate by the people of Famadh. It appears then that these objects must be carried to the *reth's* final resting place and where they rest, there he will be buried. *reth* Dak had always shown particular favouritism to Famadh and Pa Loc was regarded as his personal village. The custom that the *reth* should be buried in the village where he was brought up, however, appears to have prevailed.

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 This superficial account of the death, burial and mourning ceremonies of the late *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet adds a few further details to our records of previous burials.[1] There was no fundamental difference in the procedure, but it is worth noting the following points:—

(i) *reth* Fadiet *wad* Yor, who died in 1944, was not placed in a hut for any time, but was buried almost immediately in his personal village.[2] At the time it was said that since his father Yor had died and had not been thus immured, it was correct that his son likewise should be buried immediately. Past precedents are always deemed important by the Shilluk, even to the extent of altering established custom.

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(ii) In the case of his successor Anei *wad* Kur, the body was first laid in a hut at Fadwol, a village occupied by the slaves and dependants of his father Kur and was finally buried at Golbainy in his personal village. This was considered a return to normal custom. Both these villages are in the northern Shilluk area (Gerr). Mourning ceremonies were carried out at both, but there was no equivalent ceremony among the southern Shilluk.

(iii) It follows that the *wowo* ceremonies carried out for Dak *wad* Fadiet, first at Kujo in the southern Shilluk area (Luak) and then at Debwor in the northern area (Gerr), were dictated by his previous residence and not by any demand for a repetition based on this division of Shilluk country as might be expected.[3]

(iv) It appears, then, that what might be called the "lying in state," should take place in a village built near to the capital and built largely for the purpose. The burial should take place in the original village of the late *reth*, the home of his mother, or more often the home of his adoption.

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1 See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 18 *et seq* and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

2 Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

3 *Id.*, p. 6 and p. 75.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter IX

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS

I suppose that nowhere in the world do the important events which the newspapers group together under this heading go without some kind of celebration to mark them. The Shilluk are in this no exception to the rest of mankind. The importance of these occasions in human life and in the life of the tribe are recognized by them and made the occasion of traditional ceremonies, elaborate sometimes and exacting. Especially does the birth of the first-born child call for celebration, since by proving the fertility of the marriage it gives hope of the founding of a new family and the continuance of the tribe.

As the time for the arrival of the first-born draws near any young married couple of whatever race or country is filled with conflicting emotions of hope and fear, assurance and doubt, joyful anticipation and misgiving. In communities more sophisticated than the Shilluk, the young expectant mother and her friends spend many happy hours making or purchasing the multitude of garments in which it is considered essential that a baby should be swathed, whilst the anxious father-to-be treats his wife as though she were some delicate and rare piece of china. The Shilluk have their own very decided ideas about the place of the husband during this very important function of the birth of the first child. It cannot be tolerated that he should be continually in the way of busy women during, and for a considerable period before and after, this time, so he must keep his distance, the distance being that between his village and that of his wife's parents from which he brought her at the time of their marriage. Custom decrees that about the sixth month of her pregnancy the young Shilluk wife must leave her husband's roof and 'go home to mother'. Father is callously left to